

August 22, 2012

Scott Abrams
Campaign Manager
Sherman for Congress
4570 Van Nuys Blvd. #270
Sherman Oaks, CA 91403

Office of General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

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FEDERAL ELECTION
COMMISSION

2012 AUG 23 PM 12:20

OFFICE OF GENERAL
COUNSEL

MUR # 6631

**Re: Complaint Against Howard Berman and Berman for Congress
(FEC#C00147686)**

Diversion of \$741,500 of Campaign Resources for Family Use

Dear Counsel:

Pursuant to the Federal Election Campaign Act ("FECA"), as well as Federal Election Commission ("FEC" or "Commission") regulations, I, Scott Abrams, 4570 Van Nuys Blvd. #270, Sherman Oaks, CA 91403, file this complaint ("Complaint") against Howard Berman and Berman for Congress (FEC#C00147686). Berman is a Member of Congress representing California's 28th Congressional District. He is now running to represent the new 30th District.

Introduction

It is clearly illegal to transfer campaign funds to the candidate's own bank account for personal use. One of the simplest ways to evade that law is to give the money to a relative for imaginary consulting services.¹

In March of 2012, Citizens for Responsibility and Ethics in Washington (CREW) issued a report titled *Family Affair*,² detailing how members of Congress transfer campaign funds to family members. This complaint is based on that report, particularly page 24 thereof. However, while the report covers only the 2008 and 2010 campaign cycles, this complaint covers 1992 to 2010.

¹This is clearly an instance of a prohibited personal use of campaign funds as described in 11 CFR §113.1(g)(1)(i)(H): "Salary payments to a member of the candidate's family, unless the family member is providing *bona fide* services to the campaign. If the family member is providing *bona fide* services to the campaign, any salary payments in excess of the fair market value of the services provided is personal use." 11 CFR §113.2(e) states that campaign funds "may be used for any other lawful purpose, unless such use is a personal use under 11 CFR §113.1(g)."

²Access at http://www.citizensforethics.org/page/-/PDFs/Reports/Family_Affair_House_2012_CREW.pdf?nocdn=1

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From 1992 to 2010, "Howard Berman for Congress" paid Michael Berman \$741,500 to oversee campaigns that simply didn't exist. Howard Berman faced token opposition in almost every election, conducted barely any voter persuasion efforts, and yet paid his brother \$741,500 to oversee his non-existent voter persuasion efforts.

For 20 years, from the 1992 through 2010 election cycles, Berman for Congress paid almost three quarters of a million dollars to Howard Berman's brother, Michael Berman.³ For most, if not all, this time, Berman for Congress did not receive, nor did it need to receive, any real services from Michael Berman. And, to the extent Michael Berman may have provided some "services," such services were compensated well in excess of fair market value, particularly given the lack of any meaningful challenge to Howard Berman's incumbency during this time period.

This Complaint does not deal with Michael Berman's ability to oversee a major voter-persuasion effort. Instead it is based on the fact that during the relevant years, there was no voter persuasion campaign to oversee, and none was necessary.

The nearly three quarters of a million dollars received by Michael Berman from his brother's campaign is a violation of campaign finance laws. FEC Regulation 11 CFR 113.1(g)(1)(i)(H) prohibits "[s]alary payments to a member of the candidate's family, unless the family member is providing *bona fide* services to the campaign." (italics in original). And, "If a family member provides *bona fide* services to the campaign, any salary payment in excess of the fair market value of the services provided is [illegal] personal use." *Id.* (italics in original).

In light of the facts below, it is clear that Congressman Berman and Berman for Congress have violated 11 CFR 113.1(g)(1)(i)(H) by paying Howard Berman's brother, Michael Berman almost three quarters of a million dollars for barely any, if any, services provided.

Facts and Analysis

Michael Berman does have expertise in persuading voters by mail and television. During the years in questions, Berman for Congress carried out virtually no voter persuasion efforts. Berman for Congress did actively raise money, and paid professional fundraising consultants (not Michael Berman) for fundraising efforts and paid other experts for accounting services.

Michael Berman does have expertise in voter persuasion. Typically the amount paid to a voter persuasion consultant is between 10% and 15% of the amount spent persuading voters (i.e. the amount paid for television, radio and newspaper ads or for mail). From its FEC filings, it is clear that Berman for Congress has spent very little money on voter-persuasion.⁴ In fact, in each of the election cycles in question, Berman for Congress did not spend enough money on postage for even one district-wide mailer and he spent nothing or virtually nothing reaching voters on TV or radio.⁵ Additionally, in almost every election cycle of this period Howard Berman did not

³Payments to Michael Berman include those to his companies, Michael Berman Inc. and Berman & D'Agostino Campaigns. Berman & D'Agostino Campaigns is a pseudonym for Michael Berman.

⁴See attached Voter Persuasion Expenditures.

⁵*Id.*

have a competitive race. He has gone without a primary challenger and faced nominal general election opponents that have raised no more than 1% of what Berman raised in almost every election cycle of the last decade.

Notwithstanding, Berman for Congress and Howard Berman have enriched Howard Berman's brother, Michael. Berman for Congress has paid Michael Berman more money (for supposed "consulting") than Howard Berman's opponents have spent in each election cycle. By hiding behind the vague label of "consulting," Howard Berman has paid his brother almost three quarters of a million dollars in campaign funds.

Family Affair highlighted this irresponsible behavior. Melanie Sloan, CREW's Executive Director, said the report "shows lawmakers still haven't learned it is wrong to trade on their positions as elected leaders to benefit themselves and their families. Conduct like this reinforces the widely held view that members of Congress are more interested in enriching themselves than in public service."⁶ *Family Affair* lists Howard Berman's campaign payments to his brother from two election cycles as examples of nepotism in Congress:

"Rep Berman's campaign, Berman for Congress, paid his brother's political consulting firm.

Michael Berman (brother):

- Mr. [Michael] Berman owns Berman & D'Agostino, a political consulting firm. During the 2008 election cycle, Rep. Berman's campaign committee paid Berman & D'Agostino \$80,000 for consulting services.
- During the 2010 election cycle, Rep. Berman's campaign committee paid Berman & D'Agostino \$90,000 for consulting service.⁷

Fortunately for Berman, the study examined just those two cycles. Looking back further, it is obvious that the pattern is a long-standing one – with Howard Berman paying his brother an astonishing \$741,500 in what were virtually uncontested elections.

Payments to Michael Berman

The Berman for Congress campaign has clearly been exhibiting a pattern that goes back decades. The following payments show that Michael Berman has been exorbitantly enriched by Berman for Congress since the 1992 cycle:

⁶From CREW press release, 3/22/12

⁷*Family Affair*, pg. 24.

	Primary 1992
Howard Berman	100%
No Opponent	n/a

	General 1992
Howard Berman	61.04%
Gary E. Forsch	30.15%

Payee	Date	Amount	Purpose
Berman & D'Agostino Campaigns	2/21/1992	\$1,000	Consulting Fee
Berman & D'Agostino Campaigns	11/3/1992	\$50,000	Consulting Fee

In 1992, Howard Berman faced no primary opponent. His general election opponent received less than a third of the vote. An analysis of Berman's campaign spending in that election cycle shows that Berman spent less than \$5,000 on advertising, less than \$2,000 on campaign paraphernalia, and only \$45,880 on mailing expenses. Yet, in the same election cycle, Berman for Congress paid Michael Berman, who specializes in voter persuasion, \$51,000 for "consulting." Fundraising consultants were paid \$26,284 and an accounting firm was paid \$26,000, so it is clear Michael Berman was not providing fundraising or accounting services. The \$51,000 paid to Michael Berman in the 1992 election cycle was not paid to him for any real services. Berman's 1992 opponent spent a token amount—less than Michael Berman was paid to "consult" on how to beat that opponent.

	Primary 1994
Howard Berman	75.92%
Jose P. Galvan	15.74%

	General 1994
Howard Berman	62.57%
Gary E. Forsch	32.25%

Michael Berman was not paid in the 1994 cycle, even though his services were as necessary in that cycle as in the others covered by this Complaint. In the 1994 cycle Howard Berman proved he could easily win reelection while paying zero dollars for voter persuasion consulting. The only explanation for the 1994 cycle is that Michael Berman just didn't need any money that year.

	Primary 1996
Howard Berman	83.78%
Steven E. Gibson	16.22%

	General 1996
Howard Berman	65.87%
Bill Glass	28.61%

Payee	Date	Amount	Purpose
Michael Berman, Inc.	1/2/1996	\$50,000	Consulting Fee
Michael Berman, Inc.	11/25/1996	\$25,000	Consulting Fee

In 1996, where Howard Berman won the primary by more than three quarters of the vote and his general election opponent again received roughly one quarter of the vote, his brother, Michael Berman, was paid \$75,000 for "consulting." A total of \$135 was spent on advertising in that election cycle, and only \$11,542 was spent on mailing expenses. An accounting firm was paid \$27,000 and a fundraising consultant was paid \$32,048. With so little spent on advertising

or mailers, and with other vendors providing accounting and fundraising services, it is clear that Michael Berman was once again paid a large sum of money without providing any real services.

	Primary 1998
Howard Berman	66.61%
Raul Godínez II	33.39%

	General 1998
Howard Berman	82.47%
Juan Carlos Ros	7.84%

Payee	Date	Amount	Purpose
Michael Berman, Inc.	03/31/1997	\$25,000	Consulting Fee
Michael Berman, Inc.	02/13/1998	\$25,000	Consulting Fee
Michael Berman, Inc.	07/07/1998	\$37,500	Media Consultant

The only election cycle where Howard Berman faced anything approaching a real challenge was 1998, with his primary opponent receiving 33% of the vote. Berman for Congress FEC filings from that election cycle show that almost \$120,000 was spent on mailing expenses, \$51,787 was spent on advertising and \$15,000 was spent on campaign paraphernalia. Berman for Congress spent \$61,200 on campaign consultants other than Michael Berman. \$37,000 was spent on fundraising consultants and \$24,000 on an accounting firm. Yet, Michael Berman was paid a whopping \$87,500 in this election cycle.

Berman for Congress did conduct a bit of a voter persuasion campaign in the 1998 primary. However, this does not mean that Michael Berman provided any services regarding that voter persuasion effort. Rather than Michael Berman overseeing the voter persuasion campaign, the following consultants were paid for doing that work:

- KS Consulting \$9,000 on 09/15/97
- KS Consulting \$9,000 on 12/01/97
- Gene Smith \$2,000 on 04/10/98
- Oscar Bassinson \$5,000 on 04/30/98
- Freddie Flores \$2,000 on 04/30/98
- Gene Smith \$3,200 on 06/03/98
- KS Consulting \$18,000 on 07/07/98
- KS Consulting \$9,000 on 12/30/98

	Primary 2000
Howard Berman	100%
No Opponent	n/a

	General 2000
Howard Berman	84.1%
Bill Farley	11.4%

Payee	Date	Amount	Purpose
Michael Berman, Inc.	01/06/1999	\$15,000	Campaign Management
Michael Berman, Inc.	07/02/1999	\$52,500	Political Consulting Fee

Michael Berman, Inc.	05/26/2000	\$5,000	Consulting Fee
Michael Berman, Inc.	08/18/2000	\$10,000	Political Consulting

In the 2000 election year, Berman faced no primary opponent and his general election opponent spent a mere \$38 and received 11% of the vote. Yet, Michael Berman received a total of \$82,500. During the same election cycle, the Howard Berman campaign reported spending only \$13,111 for mailings and a mere \$748 on campaign paraphernalia. He reported no expenditures on television, radio, or newspaper advertising or polling. \$27,000 was spent on fundraising consultants (not Michael Berman). So Michael Berman was paid \$82,500 for overseeing a completely nonexistent voter persuasion campaign.

	Primary 2002
Howard Berman	100%
No Opponent	n/a

	General 2002
Howard Berman	71.4%
David R. Hernandez, Jr.	23.2%

Payee	Date	Amount	Purpose
Berman & D'Agostino Campaigns	12/11/2002	\$75,000	Political Consulting

As in the 2000 election cycle, in 2002 Howard Berman had no primary opponent and his general election opponent only spent less than \$10,000 and received 23.2% of the vote. Once again, Berman for Congress paid Michael Berman a one-time payment of \$75,000 for "political consulting." Yet, the campaign also paid \$65,175 to fundraising consultants and \$25,337 to an accounting firm. Thus, the \$75,000 paid to Michael Berman was clearly not for fundraising or accounting, since other payees were paid for these services. Berman spent only \$11,310 on mailing. Like previous cycles where Michael Berman received large sums of money, Berman for Congress reported no expenditures on campaign paraphernalia; radio, television, or newspaper advertising; or polling.

	Primary 2004
Howard Berman	82.0%
Charles R. Coleman, Jr.	18.0%

	General 2004
Howard Berman	71.0%
David R. Hernandez, Jr.	23.3%

Payee	Date	Amount	Purpose
Michael Berman	10/08/2003	\$50,000	Campaign Management Fee/Political Consulting
Michael Berman	10/10/2003	\$30,500	Campaign Management Fee/Political Consulting
Berman & D'Agostino Campaigns	02/11/2004	\$20,000	Political Consulting/Planning Services
Berman & D'Agostino Campaigns	11/10/2004	\$30,000	Political Campaign Consulting Fees

In the 2004 election cycle, Michael Berman received a whopping \$130,500 from Berman for Congress. Berman's primary challenger was a relative unknown who spent no money and only received eighteen percent of the vote. His general election opponent spent a token amount that election cycle. Once again, Berman spent no money on television, radio, and newspaper advertising or polling, a nominal amount of \$1,705 was spent on campaign paraphernalia, and only about \$11,864 was spent on all mailings. The campaign paid fundraising consultants \$58,224, its accounting firm \$30,431. With others doing the fundraising work and accounting, it is questionable what the \$130,500 to Michael Berman for "consulting" services actually covered.

	Primary 2006
Howard Berman	80.5%
Charles R. Coleman, Jr.	19.5%

	General 2006
Howard Berman	74.0%
David R. Hernandez, Jr.	19.1%

Payee	Date	Amount	Purpose
Berman & D'Agostino Campaigns	03/25/2005	\$20,000	Political Campaign Consulting Fees
Berman & D'Agostino Campaigns	11/30/2006	\$50,000	Political Campaign Consulting Fees

Berman's 2006 primary opponent did not file any financial reports (apparently raising and spending less than \$5,000) and only garnered nineteen percent of the vote. His general election opponent also did not report any contributions or expenditures and received less than a quarter of the vote. Even with opponents in both the primary and general election that reported no contributions or expenditures, Berman for Congress paid Michael Berman \$70,000. These payments were not for fundraising or accounting because Berman for Congress reported paying fundraising consultants \$76,714 and an accounting firm \$36,984. Additionally, Berman for Congress only spent \$731 on campaign paraphernalia, \$11,209 on mailings, and no money on television, radio, newspaper advertising or polling. (In this and prior years where under \$20,000 was spent on mailings, I suspect that it was on fundraising mail and in fact zero was spent on voter persuasion.) Again, Michael Berman, a voter persuasion expert, was paid tens of thousands of dollars in an election cycle where no real voter persuasion was done.

	Primary 2008
Howard Berman	Unopposed

	General 2008
Howard Berman	Unopposed

Payee	Date	Amount	Purpose
Berman & D'Agostino Campaigns	10/10/2008	\$80,000	Political Campaign Consulting Fees

Berman was unopposed in both the primary and general election of 2008, yet Michael Berman received a one-time payment of \$80,000 for "political campaign consulting fee" in the month before the 2008 general election. In that cycle, the campaign spent no money on campaign paraphernalia or polling, and only \$600 on advertising. Only \$53,028 was spent on postage or mailing. Berman for Congress paid its fundraising consultants \$110,443 and its accounting firm \$38,599. The \$80,000 paid to Michael Berman was clearly not for fundraising or accounting

services, since those services were billed to other vendors. Not enough money was spent on mailings to cover one piece of mail to Howard Berman's constituency. Also, it is possible that the mailings were for fundraising and that nothing was spent on voter persuasion.

	Primary 2010
Howard Berman	83.4%
Richard A. Valdez	16.6%

	General 2010
Howard Berman	69.6%
Merlin Froyd	22.4%

Payee	Date	Amount	Purpose
Berman & D'Agostino Campaigns	11/19/2010	\$90,000	Political Campaign Consulting Fees

Howard Berman's 2010 primary opponent only received sixteen percent of the vote, and only raised and spent a total of less than \$15,000. His general election opponent raised and spent less than 1/2 of 1 percent of what Berman for Congress raised and spent. Michael Berman received a one-time payment of \$90,000. However, Berman for Congress only spent \$68,881 on mailings, \$1,413 on advertising, and no money on campaign paraphernalia or polling. The campaign also reported expenditures of \$129,351 on fundraising consultants and \$37,561 on accounting; therefore, Michael Berman was not paid for fundraising or accounting. It is unclear why Michael Berman was paid \$90,000 by Berman for Congress.

It is clear from Berman for Congress' FEC filings that Michael Berman is not providing fundraising consulting services, because those services are being provided by other payees and because he has no fundraising expertise. He is not providing accounting services, because an accounting firm is being paid for such services. Further proof that Howard Berman is using campaign funds for personal use by enriching his brother is that Berman for Congress has not spent enough money on any form of voter contact to justify the amount of money spent on Michael Berman's supposed services. If Michael Berman's specialty is consulting on how to communicate with voters, and Berman for Congress has spent almost three quarters of a million dollars on this consulting, why has Berman for Congress spent almost nothing persuading voters? The answer is clear—Howard Berman is enriching his brother with campaign funds under the pretense of receiving voter persuasion consulting services.

Factual Summary

Election Cycle	Maximum Amount That May Have Been Spent on Voter Persuasion	Amount Paid to Michael Berman
1992	\$49,562	\$51,000
1994	\$69,851	\$0
1996	\$11,677	\$75,000
1998	\$186,874	\$87,500
2000	\$13,859	\$82,500
2002	\$12,108	\$75,000
2004	\$13,569	\$130,500
2006	\$11,940	\$70,000
2008	\$53,628	\$80,000
2010	\$70,294	\$90,000
Total	\$493,362	\$741,500

The column labeled "Maximum Amount That May Have Been Spent on Voter Persuasion" includes all postage, printing, as well as all advertising, television time, radio time and paraphernalia. The vast majority of the amount shown is printing and postage. Accordingly that column includes the very substantial amounts spent printing and mailing fundraising letters and fancy event invitations. So for almost every cycle, the amount in that column seems to have been for fundraising mail and invitations. With the exception of the 1998 cycle, Howard Berman seems to have spent almost nothing on voter communication.

Typically those who oversee voter persuasion efforts and manage the direct mail campaign receive fees totaling roughly 10 - 15% of the amount spent on direct voter persuasion efforts: printing, postage and advertising.

During the relevant period Michael Berman received \$741,500, which exceeds 150% of the maximum that might have been spent on voter persuasion.

For the cycles 2006 to 2010, Congressman Brad Sherman had races slightly more difficult than Congressman Howard Berman. The Sherman for Congress Committee paid Parke Skelton and his firm SG&A Campaigns roughly \$4,000 per cycle (\$2,000 per year) for general voter persuasion consulting and the design of and implementation of the necessary direct mail and advertising campaigns.

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In contrast, from 1992 to 2010, Michael Berman received \$741,500. Of course, Congressman Brad Sherman is not related to Parke Skelton and paid his firm only fair value and only for necessary services.

Timing of Payments

The date on which payments were made to Michael Berman, and his company, bear absolutely no relationship to any services provided, and the timing bears no relationship to when any imaginary services might be claimed to have been provided.

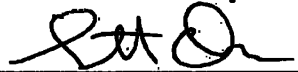
The Berman for Congress Committee seems to have simply paid Michael Berman tens of thousands of dollars whenever Michael needed cash. Often, Michael Berman was paid tens of thousands of dollars very early in a campaign cycle. This was not for services that were already rendered, as the Berman for Congress Committee had done nothing in the cycle in which Michael Berman was being paid.

In 2008, the race was completely over when the filing deadline expired in mid-March 2008 and no opponent to Howard Berman qualified for either the primary or general election ballot. Yet Michael Berman was paid \$80,000 in October 2008.

Conclusion

There is an overwhelming amount of evidence to show that Howard Berman has used campaign funds to enrich his brother, Michael Berman, for services that were not actually rendered, or has paid campaign funds to Michael Berman well in excess of market value for "services" in non-competitive races. Additionally, the date that such payments were made bear no relationship to when any of these supposed services could have been provided. Accordingly, I respectfully request that the Commission investigate this matter and penalize Howard Berman and Berman for Congress for their violations of federal election law.

Respectfully,



Scott Abrams

Sworn to and subscribed before me this _____ day of _____ 2012.

CALIFORNIA JURAT WITH AFFIANT STATEMENT

- ☒ See Attached Document (Notary to cross out lines 1-6 below)
☐ See Statement Below (Lines 1-5 to be completed only by document signer[s], not Notary)

1 _____
2 _____
3 _____
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6 _____
Signature of Document Signer No. 1 _____ Signature of Document Signer No. 2 (if any) _____

State of California

County of Los Angeles

Subscribed and sworn to (or affirmed) before me on this

22 day of August, 2012, by
Date Month Year

(1) SCOTT WILLIAM ABRAMS
Name of Signer

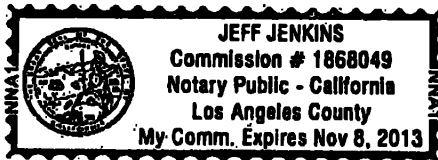
proved to me on the basis of satisfactory evidence
to be the person who appeared before me (.) (1)

(and

(2) _____
Name of Signer

proved to me on the basis of satisfactory evidence
to be the person who appeared before me.)

Signature _____
Signature of Notary Public



Place Notary Seal Above

OPTIONAL

*Though the information below is not required by law, it may prove
valuable to persons relying on the document and could prevent
fraudulent removal and reattachment of this form to another document.*

Further Description of Any Attached Document

COMPLAINT AGAINST HOWARD BERMAN AND BERMAN
FOR CONGRESS

Title or Type of Document: _____

Document Date: 8/22/12 Number of Pages: 10

Signer(s) Other Than Named Above: NONE

RIGHT THUMBPRINT OF SIGNER #1 Top of thumb here

RIGHT THUMBPRINT OF SIGNER #2 Top of thumb here

CREW

citizens for responsibility
and ethics in washington

Family Affair



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CREW Releases Report Revealing Representatives Abuse Position to Benefit Family Members

<http://www.citizensforethics.org/press/entry/crew-report-revealing-representatives-nepotism-abuse-to-benefit-family>

Press

PRESS

March 22, 2012

CREW Releases Report Revealing Representatives Abuse Position to Benefit Family Members

Washington, D.C. – Today, Citizens for Responsibility and Ethics in Washington (CREW) released its new report, *Family Affair*, detailing how members of the House of Representatives use their positions to financially benefit their families. In all, CREW found a shocking 248 House members used their positions to financially benefit themselves or family members.

[Click here to read about the actions of these members of Congress in CREW's latest report.](#)

Highlights of the report include:

- 82 members (40 Democrats and 42 Republicans) paid family members through their congressional offices, campaign committees and political action committees (PACs)
- 44 members (20 Democrats and 24 Republicans) have family members who lobby or are employed in government affairs
- 90 members (42 Democrats and 48 Republicans) have paid a family business, employer, or associated nonprofit
- 20 members (13 Democrats and 7 Republicans) used their campaign money to contribute to a family member's political campaign
- 14 members (6 Democrats and 8 Republicans) charged interest on personal loans they made to their own campaigns
- 38 members (24 Democrats and 14 Republicans) earmarked to a family business, employer, or



Download the report [here](#).

"This report shows lawmakers still haven't learned it is wrong to trade on their positions as elected themselves and their families," said CREW Executive Director Melanie Sloan. "Conduct like this reinforces the view that members of Congress are more interested in enriching themselves than in public service. We must end these practices."

CREW is partnering with LegiStorm to make the data in this report more widely available in a search. www.legistorm.com.

Family Affair is a follow-up to CREW's 2007 Family Affair – House report, which looked at how repre

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positions to benefit family members over the 2002, 2004, and 2006 election cycles. The new report and 2010 cycles. Click to read the 2007 report or the 2008 Family Affair – Senate report.

Citizens for Responsibility and Ethics in Washington (CREW) is a non-profit legal watchdog group de officials accountable for their actions. For more information, please visit www.citizensforethics.org Merchant at 202.408.5565 or dmerchant@citizensforethics.org

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HOWARD BERMAN (D-CA) is a fifteen-term member of Congress, representing California's 28th congressional district.¹ Rep. Berman is the ranking member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, as well as a member of the House Judiciary Committee.²

Rep. Berman's campaign committee, Berman for Congress,³ paid his brother's political consulting firm.

Michael Berman (brother):⁴

- Mr. Berman owns Berman & D'Agostino, a political consulting firm.⁵ During the 2008 election cycle, Rep. Berman's campaign committee paid Berman & D'Agostino \$80,000 for consulting services.⁶
- During the 2010 election cycle, Rep. Berman's campaign committee paid Berman & D'Agostino \$90,000 for consulting services.⁷

¹ http://frwebgate.access.gpo.gov/cgi-bin/getdoc.cgi?dbname=111_congressional_directory&docid=111th_txt-6.pdf.

² <http://www.house.gov/berman/about/index.shtml>.

³ <http://query.nictusa.com/cgi-bin/fecimg/?C00147686>.

⁴ <http://www.thefreelibrary.com/LOCAL+CONGRESSMEN+PAID+KIN+POLITICIANS+DEFEND+HIRING+FAMILY+MEMBERS.-a0131548094>.

⁵ *Id.*

⁶ <http://www.opensecrets.org/politicians/expenddetail.php?cid=N00008094&cycle=2008&name=Berman%20%26%20D%27Agostino%20Campaigns>.

⁷ <http://www.opensecrets.org/politicians/expenddetail.php?cid=N00008094&cycle=2010&name=Berman%20%26%20D%27Agostino%20Campaigns>.

1992 Voter Persuasion Expenditures

Mail/Printing	Amount	Advertising	Amount	Campaign Paraphernalia	Amount	Polling	Amount
Cantrell/Cutter Printing	\$ 993	Los Angeles Times	\$ 250	Candidates Lawn Signs	\$ 1,666		\$ -
Pacific AdMail	\$ 741	Your Pro-Choice Voter Guide	\$ 2,000				
US Postmaster	\$ 580	CARAL PAC Voter Guide	\$ 2,000				
Creative Intelligence	\$ 3,125						
Creative Intelligence	\$ 3,940		\$ 4,250				
Creative Intelligence	\$ 913						
David Andrukitis	\$ 65						
David Andrukitis	\$ 230						
David Andrukitis	\$ 125						
David Andrukitis	\$ 65						
David R. Ramage	\$ 440						
US Postmaster	\$ 232						
Pacific AdMail	\$ 1,028						
Brothers Printing	\$ 207						
Cantrell/Cutter Printing	\$ 1,176						
Pacific AdMail	\$ 3,585						
Pacific AdMail	\$ 2,178						
US Postmaster	\$ 58						
US Postmaster	\$ 425						
US Postmaster	\$ 350						
US Postmaster	\$ 58						
David Andrukitis	\$ 335						
Pacific AdMail	\$ 22,624						
US Postmaster	\$ 29						
US Postmaster	\$ 145						
	\$ 43,647						

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1994 Voter Persuasion Expenditures

Mail/Printing	Amount	Advertising	Amount	Campaign Paraphernalia	Amount	Polling	Amount
David L. Andrukitis	\$257		\$ -		\$ -		\$ -
David L. Andrukitis	\$18						
Cantrell/Cutter Printing Inc.	\$435						
Creative Intelligence	\$3,431						
Creative Intelligence	\$3,431						
David L. Andrukitis	\$292						
Oxford Argonaut Mailers	\$391						
US Postmaster	\$87						
US Postmaster	\$29						
US Postmaster	\$1,450						
US Postmaster	\$58						
US Postmaster	\$75						
US Postmaster	\$58						
US Postmaster	\$87						
US Postmaster	\$58						
Bethesda Engravers	\$2,373						
Cantrell/Cutter Printing Inc.	\$1,526						
David L. Andrukitis	\$438						
Voter Guide	\$13,000						
Good Government Guide	\$469						
US Postmaster	\$290						
US Postmaster	\$58						
Jam Grafx	\$321						
David L. Andrukitis	\$334						
US Postmaster	\$563						
US Postmaster	\$58						
So Cal Voter Guide	\$3,300						
American Data Management	\$19,216						
AMS Response	\$1,000						
Coalition for Senior Citizen Secur	\$900						
Spinelli Graphics	\$2,133						
US Postmaster	\$150						
US Postmaster	\$870						

1994 Voter Persuasion Expenditures

US Postmaster	\$2,500								
US Postmaster	\$406								
US Postmaster	\$1,869								
US Postmaster	\$2,400								
US Postmaster	\$2,080								
US Postmaster	\$3,440								
	\$69,851								

1996 Voter Persuasion Expenditures

Mail/Printing	Amount	Advertising	Amount	Campaign Paraphernalia	Amount	Polling	Amount
Creative Communications	\$2,000	Heritage Press	\$135		\$ -		\$ -
....Printing & Design (illegible)	\$501						
US Postmaster	\$35						
US Postmaster	\$624						
Charles Print-O-Graph	\$286						
Charles Print-O-Graph	\$211						
Charles Print-O-Graph	\$4,308						
Charles Print-O-Graph	\$167						
Oxford Argonaut Mailers	\$335						
US Postmaster	\$32						
US Postmaster	\$96						
US Postmaster	\$85						
US Postmaster	\$1,280						
US Postmaster	\$32						
US Postmaster	\$32						
US Postmaster	\$32						
US Postmaster	\$192						
Charles Print-O-Graph	\$200						
US Postmaster	\$32						
US Postmaster	\$32						
US Postmaster	\$32						
US Postmaster	\$85						
US Postmaster	\$32						
US Postmaster	\$32						
Rikki Poulus Graphic Design	\$785						
US Postmaster	\$32						
US Postmaster	\$32						
	\$11,542						

1998 Voter Persuasion Expenditures

Mail/Printing	Amount	Advertising	Amount	Campaign Paraphernalia	Amount	Polling	Amount
Charles Print-o-graph	\$238	La Opinion	\$223		\$		\$
Brothers Printing Co	\$207	Bassinson Productions	\$480				
Brothers Printing Co	\$292	Bassinson Productions	\$5,000				
US Postmaster	\$318	Film Bank	\$1,100				
Oxford Argonaut Mailers	\$462	FT Communications	\$3,019				
Rikki Paulos	\$721	Half Day Video	\$1,050				
US Postmaster	\$40	BMA Video	\$3,000				
US Postmaster	\$32	BMA Video	\$3,000				
US Postmaster	\$2,250	La Opinion	\$836				
US Postmaster	\$432	Media One	\$6,208				
US Postmaster	\$54	Randy Morrison	\$300				
US Postmaster	\$54	Randy Morrison	\$100				
Brothers Printing Co	\$5,320	Rick Syalla Video Productio	\$400				
Croshaw Printing & Direct Mail	\$672	TCI Media	\$20,007				
CA Committee for Choice	\$250	TCI Media	\$1,500				
CA Voter Guide	\$500	Oscar Bassinson	\$1,432				
Cantrell/Cutter Printing Inc.	\$1,076	Film Bank	\$491				
Citizens for Represent Gov't	\$1,000	Riverton Productions	\$940				
Croshaw Printing & Direct Mail	\$2,000	FT Communications	\$117				
Democratic Voter Guide	\$1,450	500 Video	\$543				
NPCOC	\$2,000	Media One	\$436				
Precision Printing & Design	\$544	TCI Media	\$1,605				
Team for the 90	\$1,100						
US Postmaster	\$386		\$51,787				
US Postmaster	\$300						
US Postmaster	\$170						
Voting Guide for Republicans	\$2,450						
Your Democratic Voter Guide	\$216						
Your Latino Voter Guide	\$216						
Your Pro Choice Voter Guide	\$216						
CA Mobile Homeowner Vote Guide	\$250						
Croshaw Printing & Direct Mail	\$7,960						
Croshaw Printing & Direct Mail	\$13,579						

1998 Voter Persuasion Expenditures

Croshaw Printing & Direct Mail	\$2,301						
Croshaw Printing & Direct Mail	\$12,439						
Croshaw Printing & Direct Mail	\$2,600						
Democratic Voter Guide	\$14,000						
US Postmaster	\$374						
Voter Guide for Republicans	\$3,756						
Precision Printing & Design	\$631						
US Postmaster	\$64						
US Postmaster	\$320						
US Postmaster	\$96						
Your Democratic Voter Guide	\$33						
Your Latino Voter Guide	\$33						
Your Pro Choice Voter Guide	\$33						
US Postmaster	\$19,575						
US Postmaster	\$16,500						
US Postmaster	\$480						
	\$119,990						

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2000 Voter Persuasion Expenditures

Mail/Printing	Amount	Advertising	Amount	Campaign Paraphernalia	Amount	Polling	Amount
US Postmaster	\$99		\$ -	Jam Grafx	\$748		\$ -
US Postmaster	\$497						
Brother Printing Co.	\$6,673						
Cantroll/Cutter Printing, Inc.	\$942						
Oxford Argonaut Mailers	\$516						
US Postmaster	\$241						
US Postmaster	\$241						
US Postmaster	\$241						
US Postmaster	\$241						
Viking Printing Co	\$321						
Cantroll/Cutter Printing, Inc.	\$490						
Papyrus	\$761						
US Postmaster	\$1,650						
US Postmaster	\$99						
US Postmaster	\$99						
	\$13,111						

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2002 Voter Persuasion Expenditures

Mail/Printing	Amount	Advertising	Amount	Campaign Paraphernalia	Amount Polling	Amount
Cantrell/Cutter Printing Inc.	\$439		\$ -	AAA Flags & Banner	\$399	\$ -
Brothers Printing	\$4,768			AAA Flags & Banner	\$399	
Cantrell/Cutter Printing Inc.	\$735					
US Postmaster	\$102				\$798	
US Postmaster	\$102					
US Postmaster	\$2,040					
Joe Welser	\$500					
Joe Welser	\$100					
Joe Welser	\$500					
US Postmaster	\$102					
Automatic Printing	\$925					
Oxford Argonaut Mailers	\$471					
Brothers Printing	\$352					
US Postmaster	\$37					
US Postmaster	\$100					
US Postmaster	\$37					
	\$11,310					

2004 Voter Persuasion Expenditures

Mail/Printing	Amount	Advertising	Amount	Campaign Paraphernalia	Amount	Polling	Amount
US Postmaster	\$33		\$ -	Promotionally Minded	\$1,006		\$ -
US Postmaster	\$260			Emblemax	\$340		
Automatic Printing	\$1,088			Emblemax	\$359		
Gold Graphics Manufacturer	\$257						
Cantrell/Cutting Printing	\$683				\$1,705		
David L. Andrukitis	\$737						
David L. Andrukitis	\$532						
US Postmaster	\$200						
US Postmaster	\$1,850						
Joe Welser	\$1,200						
Brothers Printing	\$3,702						
Oxford Argonaut Mailers	\$972						
Joe Welser	\$350						
	\$11,864						

2006 Voter Persuasion Expenditures

Mail/Printing	Amount	Advertising	Amount	Campaign Paraphernalia	Amount	Polling	Amount
Brothers Printing	\$6,137		\$ -	Orale	\$731		\$ -
Oxford Argonaut Mailers	\$472						
US Postmasters	\$3,000						
Joe Waiser	\$1,600						
	\$11,209						

2008 Voter Persuasion Expenditures

Mail/Printing	Amount	Advertising	Amount	Campaign Paraphernalia	Amount	Polling	Amount
William Below	\$15,680	Jewish Journal	\$600		\$ -		\$ -
Automatic Printing	\$3,400						
Brothers Printing	\$8,543						
Towne, Inc.	\$6,996						
US Postmaster	\$205						
Joe Walser	\$2,100						
Warren Printing & Mail	\$545						
US Postmaster	\$236						
Towne, Inc.	\$8,400						
William Below	\$398						
Automatic Printing	\$795						
Towne, Inc.	\$4,200						
US Postmaster	\$218						
US Postmaster	\$1,312						
	\$53,028						

2010 Vote Persuasion Expenditures

Mail/Printing	Amount	Advertising	Amount	Campaign Paraphernalia	Amount	Polling	Amount
US Postmaster	\$240	San Fernando Sun	\$692		\$ -		\$ -
William Below	\$12,229	San Fernando Sun	\$721				
Towne, Inc.	\$4,508						
Automatic Printing	\$4,522		\$1,413				
FSSI	\$1,698						
Brothers Printing	\$3,000						
Brothers Printing	\$10,324						
Towne, Inc.	\$11,796						
Joe Walser	\$2,350						
US Postmaster	\$23						
US Postmaster	\$3,244						
David L. Andrukitis	\$1,081						
Towne, Inc.	\$13,866						
	\$68,881						